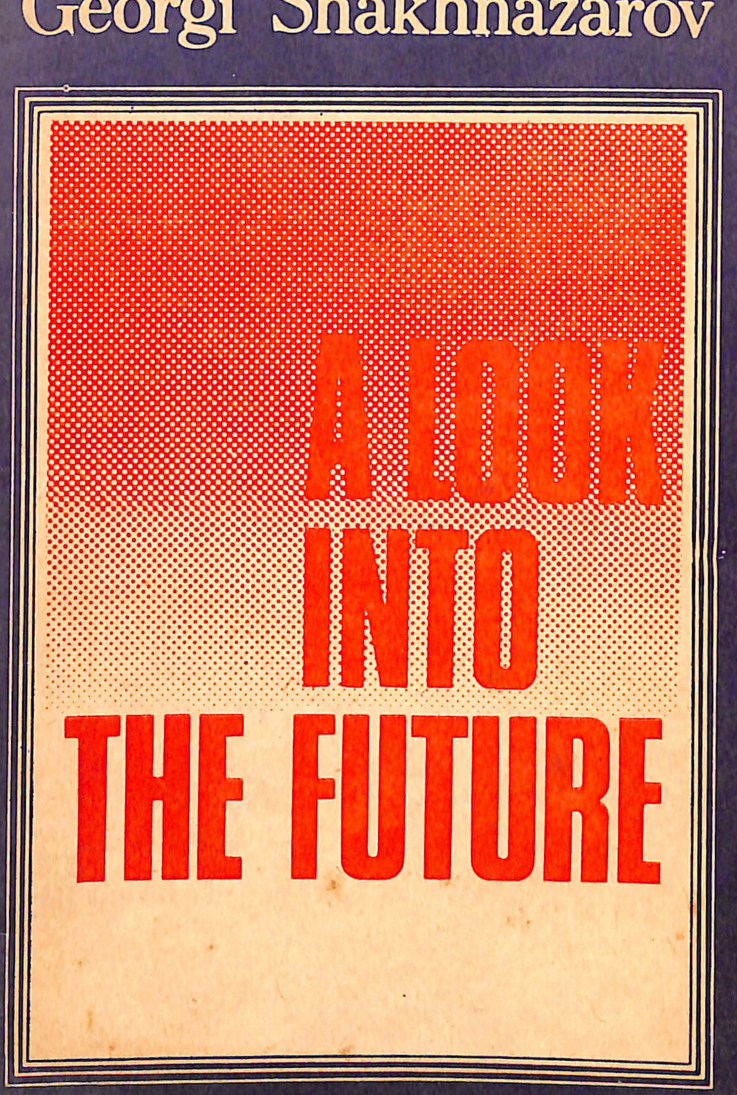
Georgi Shakhnazarov



SCANNED

Georgi Shakhnazarov

A LOOK INTO THE FUTURE



Novosti Press Agency
Publishing House
Moscow, 1978



C-88539

© Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1978
Editing completed on January 30, 1978

Man has always had a great curiosity about the future, about what life may be like tomorrow. This curiosity is part of his intellectual inquisitiveness which prompts him to picture the contours of future society, inspired by the hope that he will finally be able to cast off the age-old fear of implacable fate and become the master of his own destiny.

THREE METHODS OF FORECASTING

There are not many methods of constructing the future. One can name three, leaving aside the religious myths with their alternative of final doom or the kingdom of heaven [1].

The oldest and perhaps the most popular method is *utopian*. It consists in theoretical construction of an ideal society which exists in some faraway place (other planets, the sunken land of Atlantis, but most often islands), or which will appear in the distant future.

Despite a fairly widespread opinion, utopias are not, as a rule, the fruit of the riotous fancy of dream-

[1] It is possible to name more than a dozen methods of forecasting, but they are derived either from mixed logical premises or from an elaboration of a particular method. Without disputing the possibility of distinguishing numerous approaches to the question of forecasting, we regard as legitimate the classification offered in this essay.

ers cut off from reality. On the contrary, they are born of the most urgent exigencies of life itself and can be likened to engineering designs. The authors of most utopias not only believe that an ideal social order can be built in accordance with the principles and schemes which they have devised, but earnestly call upon thinking and enlightened persons to start building it. It is common knowledge, for instance, that in his letters to kings and other powerful personages of his time Charles Fourier argued with the passion of a discoverer or inventor his system of "social harmony", and asked for financial assistance in the implementation of his grandiose project.

Another important point is that the projects drawn up by utopists often have a high degree of feasibility. One cannot agree with the generally accepted view that all utopias are unscientific and that they contain no elements that are realizable. Strictly speaking, what is really unrealizable is the means and not the ends described by utopists. Thus, for example, Tommaso Campanella in his *City of the Sun*, Thomas More in his *Utopia*, and Saint-Simon, Fourier, Owen and other utopists of modern times, had correctly predicted much of present-day socialist practice, including national economic planning and the organization of kindergartens.

It is precisely the realistic content of utopian socialism that has made it one of the theoretical sources of the Marxist-Leninist science of communism.

The second method may be called *hypothetical*. It consists in depicting an image of the future by elaborating on a particular hypothesis. Here the author does not try to portray an ideal society. Rather, he undertakes, on the basis of a given theoretical construct, and without departing from what is desired, to describe a possible direction in which the historical process will develop.

This method is most often used by science-fiction writers, especially by authors of the "warning novel". The very name suggests caution against an undesirable course of events, a course dangerous to all mankind or to part of it. It also suggests that the author does not regard the outcome predicted by him as inevitable, especially if the necessary steps are taken to forestall it.

H. G. Wells was the most remarkable and as yet unsurpassed exponent of this trend in science fiction. In *The Time Machine*, the best of his warning novels, it is assumed that the capitalist method of production and distribution will remain unchanged and continue to develop over many millennia. The logical outcome of such development is the utter mental and physical degeneration of the parasitic stratum of "Elois" and the degradation of the "Morlocks", the producers driven underground, a general state of disorder, and the virtually inevitable doom of all civilization.

Warnings about the threat of fascism were given by Karel Čapek in his *War with the Newts* which appeared before the war, and by Ray Bradbury in *Fahrenheit 451°* which was published after the war. The danger of man becoming divorced from nature and making an absolute of technical progress, is depicted by Stanislaw Lem in *Return from the Stars* and by Pierre Boulle in *La planète des singes*. Apart from many science-fiction works giving the danger signals there also appeared anti-utopia tales which were used by reactionaries in their struggle against the revolutionary movement.[1] The Western book market was flooded with cheap-priced fantasy

[1] George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, which gives a picture of absolute totalitarianism allegedly connected with the establishment of communism, is a specimen of this kind of anti utopia.

fiction which titillated the unthinking reader with nightmarish scenes of the coming Armageddon.

Apart from the warning novel there are two more types of science fiction which try to predict the future. Just as Wells pioneered the social trend in science fiction, so Jules Verne was the generally-recognized father of the technical trend, which today is perhaps more popular. An important, but regrettably rare, type of science fiction consists of an artistic portrayal of the society of the future based on the principles of modern science and a generalization of the practice of that part of the world that have built a new, socialist society. *The Nebula in Andromeda*, a novel by the Soviet scientist and science-fiction writer Ivan Yefremov, is perhaps the only major work of this type.

Finally, there is a third, *prognostic* method, which is the soundest one. For it is based on the determinable character of the historical process, on the causal connection of events along its principal vector, that of time.

Here is how the objective prerequisites of prognostication are described by Shakespeare:

> There is a history in all men's lives,
> Figuring the nature of the times deceas'd;
> The which observ'd, a man may prophesy,
> With a near aim, of the main chance of things
> As yet not come to life, which in their seeds
> And weak beginnings lie intreasured.
> Such things become the hatch and brood of time.[1]

Almost all the main features of prognostication are contained in this profound observation. It is precisely an understanding of the order reigning in history or of the regularity extending from the past to the future, that makes it possible to make conjectures about the future, even if only "with a near

[1] *King Henry the Fourth*, Part Two, Act III, Scene I.

aim"—a reservation worthy of a scientist. The present is pregnant with the future, which is conceived today, and therefore lends itself to our observation.

To various degrees all three methods of forecasting mentioned above are based on a projection into the future of elements, processes and problems of present-day reality. What, then, are the chief differences between them?

A utopia, as we have said, arises from an ideal. The real, living element is present in it insofar as human consciousness is always rooted in the conditions of society's existence, being inseparable from the world of earthly concerns and hopes. A forecast is based on real life, and the ideal element (the conception of what is desired) is present in it only to the extent to which it coincides with the objective course of historical development.

A hypothetical prediction is based on one real tendency but deliberately ignores all other tendencies, without even considering which of them stands a better chance of prevailing. What we have, then, is an intentional refusal to comprehensively project the present into the future, an exaggeration of a particular and probably even accidental element of the historical process.

On the other hand, any more or less sound forecast must be founded on a comprehensive consideration of a phenomenon, process or system with all its internal and external connections. A forecast is basically a *well-substantiated choice of one of the possible variants of a course of events as the most probable one,* and thus it presupposes a careful consideration of all the other variants before they are rejected.

In other words, to make a sound forecast, one must be able to sort out the possible variants, to compare all their parameters, to correlate them with

the trends and tendencies that manifest themselves in the given sphere, to make allowances for accidental measurable deviations, and so on.

THE GLITTER AND BARRENNESS OF FUTUROLOGY

It is understandable that the emergence of cybernetics should promise a real revolution in forecasting.

Three decades ago, when first-generation electronic computers came upon the scene, it was generally thought that an unprecedented growth of information would quickly remove the remaining blank spaces in man's knowledge of his immediate environment, and that science would start to unravel the great mysteries of the micro- and macro-world. To be sure, not every bit of new information is useful. But matters were no better in the past, if not worse. It is quite possible that while Copernicus was constructing his heliocentric system, some others were calculating maximum number of devils that could stand on the point of a needle...

In short, the appearance of electronic computers and the attendant information explosion gave rise to the brightest hopes and resulted, among other things, in a vast influx of funds and intellectual resources in the West into the sphere of previously neglected futurology. [1] Research centres and higher

[1] We do not apply the adjective "bourgeois" to this word because futurology as a science with all its theoretical and methodological apparatus has from the first been an offshoot of Western political science. Marxism does not see in general why this branch of knowledge should be singled out as a science in its own right.

school departments specializing in futurology began to spring up one after another. The intelligence services of imperialist states and the boards of big corporations hastened to form special forecasting sectors or groups. Before long this feverish activity led to the appearance of a large number of works predicting what the world would be like in 1980, 1990, 2000, and so on. Researchers began to sketch a map of the future, as scientists would sketch a map of the Moon, and it only awaited confirmation of its correctness.

There are several reasons why futurology suddenly became such a popular and even fashionable science and why forecasts made by men like Herman Kahn have received wide attention in the press although they have not been confirmed. First, as mentioned earlier, there is man's inquisitiveness, which is especially strong in people working in the field of science. Secondly, ruling classes in capitalist countries need to know, if only in general outline, what troubles await them in the nearest future (in the sphere of production, market conditions, labour relations, international conflicts, etc.) so that they can take the necessary preventive measures.

Another reason for the growing interest in forecasting is purely commercial. Businessmen realize that they can greatly increase their profits if they know what the supply-and-demand relationship, the prevalent vogue, etc., will be one, three, five or ten years hence. In this respect the first results of forecasting with the help of computers surpassed all expectations: for every dollar invested in the preparation of forecasts the return was 50 dollars in net profit. And although this was evidently a period of "skimming the cream", Big Business readily opened its cashboxes to futurologists.

But the biggest impetus to the flourishing of fu-

turology has come from the hope that it could somehow yield an idealized image of the future to serve as the ideological banner for the supporters of capitalism, a mathematically-backed certificate of its viability.

Here it is pertinent to recall that for nearly a century and a half bourgeois scholars and the bourgeois press had mocked the "providential" character of Marxism-Leninism and its "claims" to being able to foresee the future, which made it akin to a utopia or even religion. What is most curious is that even today some anti-Communists continue to harp on this theme and to ridicule the "hapless" Marxists who think they can foresee the future. [1]

But what lavish praise has been given to positivism, which is counterposed to Marxism! Positivism, it is argued, traces back to Descartes, and represents West-European rationalist thinking which rejects all ideological influences, accepts only that truth which is arrived at empirically, and is free of class and partisan prejudices.

And now, despite all these postulates, with which bourgeois sociology has spellbound itself to some extent, it has had to address itself to the task of finding a future acceptable to Big Business. Here, in order to avoid simplistic assessments, it should be noted that intellectual inquisitiveness plays its part in this case as well. But nevertheless the main role belongs to what may be called the social order,

[1] An example is yet another work by a former member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Wolfgang Leonhard, *Die Zukunft des Sowietkommunismus* (München, 1975). After deriding Marxism's "providentialism" he cited in his bulky volume all kinds of unfulfilled prophecies of anti-Communists, and ended with a new series of equally "accurate" forecasts based on reformist-revisionist conceptions of socialism.

to the need for state-monopoly capitalism to oppose the communist ideal with something more effective than the Christian idea of a paradisiacal life after death.

The need becomes particularly urgent owing to the rapid growth of sympathies with socialism among the youth (and not only the working-class youth), to its refusal to reconcile itself to the bourgeois orders. It is primarily to the youth that "messages from the future" are addressed, which speak of the coming in the near future of an era of "universal prosperity", the convergence of the two systems, with capitalism becoming slightly socialized, and the advent of a post-industrial or technotronic society. [1]

It should be noted that along with models of the future that are used as a weapon in ideological struggle, futurological research by non-Marxist scientists has also yielded many useful observations. Like the two-faced Janus, futurology simultaneously looks at the past, in the direction of the outgoing system when it performs its ideological function, and at the future when it performs a practical function. And it cannot do without a scientific approach in carrying out its practical function, which is to forecast the future development of certain phenomena and processes, including problems with which mankind has already been confronted and which will increasingly make themselves felt. These are energy supply problems arising from the gradual depletion of reserves of mineral fuel; problems of

[1] In his book *In the Forecasters' Maze* (Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1975) E. Arab-Ogly, a Soviet scientist, adduces many facts and arguments to show that the postwar futurological boom in the West was due primarily to ideological considerations.

food resources, aggravated by the demographic explosion (the world population has already topped the 4,000 million mark, and most specialists expect it to reach 6,000-7,000 million by the year 2000); and a complex of problems relating to environmental protection. Of special importance is the study of the future development of international relations. The findings point to the danger of the continuation of the arms race and suggest ways of settling international conflicts. Also of significance are estimates showing that the economic gap between the developed capitalist states and the young developing nations continues to widen.

Having turned, at long last, to problems of the future of society, to which Marxists have always paid attention, most Western futurologists deal with them from the class positions of the bourgeoisie, a class whose interests, far from coinciding with the objective course of history, run directly counter to it. Hence their biased, non-objective assessment of facts, their attempt to make facts fit the notions "handed down" by the ruling classes. Hence their lack of confidence in their forecasts, which is carefully concealed by an outward self-assurance. And hence their fear of what is to come.

Alvin Toffler, the author of *Future Shock*,[1] a book that has caused quite a stir in the West, has drawn a vivid picture of the tremendous acceleration of scientific and technical progress now under way, and concludes that this acceleration, caused by a "super-industrial revolution", pushes people out of the habitual course of activity that has taken shape over many millennia of development of civilization, and that if mankind does not quickly learn how to con-

[1] Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock*, N. Y., The Eco-Spasm Report, 1975.

trol the pace of mounting changes it will be unable to avoid a mass crisis of adaptation to the future.

One cannot say that Toffler is completely wrong here. Undoubtedly there is an overstraining of the psyche of individuals and of the social psyche in our age of scientific and technological revolution. However, Toffler seems to overemphasize the shock effect of scientific and technological change. He underestimates both the stability of the main components of civilization, and general awareness of a pressing need for changes, owing to which the overwhelming majority of people easily withstand the accelerations of the epoch and actively work for changes.

It is hard to judge to what extent Toffler is aware of this. It may be said, however, that the book *Future Shock* is indicative of the bourgeoisie's instinctive fear of everything that threatens to pluck it out of the habitual order of things and confront it with the realities of the new world. Just as it is hard for elderly people to accept new trends in art or even new fashions in clothing, so it is difficult for outgoing classes to accept new developments in history.

The popularity of futurology was short-lived. Its authority began to decline as short-term forecasts proved to be wrong.

For example, year after year futurologists predicted the collapse of people's government in the German Democratic Republic. Meantime the German workers' and farmers' republic was scoring ever greater successes in all areas of socialist construction and eventually won, with the support of the fraternal socialist countries, full international recognition. Similar forecasts were made with respect to all socialist countries, to say nothing of the Soviet Union, and all of them (which were actually hopes presented as forecasts) met the same inglorious fate.

The mistake in anticipating the course of events is one side of the matter. The other side is an inability to foresee major economic and social upheavals. The rather dismal record of futurology includes the failure to foresee, even in an approximate way, the depth and acuteness of, let us say, the monetary crisis that hit the capitalist economy in the early 1970s; and a more or less effective solution of this crisis is not yet in sight. More than that, in this as in many other cases, bourgeois theoreticians lightheartedly brushed aside Marxists' suppositions regarding an imminent new round of crises of imperialism's financial system.

In recent years, besides these major miscalculations, there have been failures in forecasting the outcome of certain current events, a task which should not present special difficulties for the forecaster. An example is the series of blunders in assessing the possible results of parliamentary elections in the FRG, Britain, Canada and some other capitalist countries. As far as the economic situation is concerned, specialists are afraid to predict even the overall trend, i.e. whether there will be a slump or a boom. It would seem that the only thing they can predict with any certainty is growth of inflation, or they can issue alternative prognoses, something like weather forecasts with a permissible tolerance of $\pm 50°$.

The failures could not but lead to disillusionment. The enthusiasm roused by the appearance of electronic computers gave way to a rather critical view of their possibilities. Some went so far as to declare that mathematical methods are inapplicable in assessing and forecasting social processes. Doubts were also expressed about the effectiveness of the questionnaire method, of polls, which but recently had been regarded as a method that would enable the

sociologist to discover the secrets of the social psyche. True, the sober view was also expressed that the blame lay, not with machines, but with the people who had seen in cybernetics a remedy for all social ills.

So what has gone wrong? Nearly every year more and more efficient computers are placed at the disposal of sociologists and economists; research methods are supposed to have improved, and necessary statistical material has been enriched. Everything seems to point in the direction of more accurate forecasts if not infallible ones.

This mystery has several explanations. The most important is a certain peculiarity of cognition: the deeper our thought penetrates the mechanism of some parts of nature and society, the more problems arise before it. Such is the dialectics of the process of cognition. In discovering the essence of a phenomenon we at the same time discover its links with other phenomena of which we were unaware before. The finding of a correct path leads not only to new revelations, but also to new riddles, and any extension of the sphere of knowledge is accompanied by an extension of the sphere of, so to speak, recognized ignorance, which already is part-knowledge.

That being so, the application of more sophisticated research techniques does not always, or immediately, prove productive. At times it leads to miscalculations of a kind which are not made when, say, the outcome of elections or the market situation is forecast by rule of thumb, with much greater reliance on experience and intuition. It turns out that the more sensitive the instrument, the greater not only the accuracy of the measurement, but also the possibility of an error being committed under the influence of some little known or totally unknown factors.

Another, much more serious cause of miscalculations in forecasting is that the development of social processes often precedes their simulation in theory. The heightening of the pace of social life and the changes taking place in it call for constant renovation of the methodology of social research, including social forecasting. Of these changes, the "contraction" of world economic and political "space" probably poses the biggest problem for forecasters.

Long ago Marx, and after him Lenin, called attention to the objective process of internationalization of economic and social life, which develops rapidly under capitalism and will acquire full scope under socialism. This scientific prediction has proved to be correct. Today all countries and continents are interlinked by a network of economic, political and cultural ties which makes it possible to speak of the existence of a world community. The consolidation of the independence of the young states, which is one of the phenomena of the epoch of the breakup of the colonial system, is accompanied by a steady growth of their interdependence. The new means of communication and transport, the great achievements (and equally great negative effects) of technical progress, the creation of mass-destruction weapons and many other factors give rise to a wide range of interests and problems which are shared by many nations and which have to be solved in conditions of struggle between the two opposing systems.

The important fact is that forecasting requires maximally accurate consideration of all factors having a direct or indirect influence on the object of investigation. This task, sufficiently difficult in itself, is further complicated by the extreme variability of both the magnitude and role of such factors.

Here is an example. The outcome of an election campaign in the United States is almost invariably

influenced by the debate round such issues as unemployment, inflation or racial relations at home, or relations with the NATO allies, or with the Soviet Union. But sometimes some new problem suddenly (or artificially) becomes a central issue. In the presidential election of 1976 the probable reaction of the US leadership to the possible participation of the Italian Communist Party in the Italian government became such an issue. What the candidates said on this question certainly influenced the votes to some extent, and it must have been as difficult for the forecaster to include this factor in his research as it would be for the weatherman, who has prepared a forecast for Europe, to take into account the consequences of a cyclone that has developed at the last moment in the Sea of Japan or in the Caribbean.

Thus, there exist quite a few objective factors making forecasting an exceedingly difficult, and at times even unrewarding, task. However, the most important cause of mistakes in forecasting and especially of the failure to foresee a general course of events, this Achilles' heel of futurology, lies in the fact that it is not based on an integral scientific theory of social development.

MARXISM-LENINISM—A SOUND BASIS FOR FORECASTING

As noted earlier, any rational form of forecasting is dependent on the degree of knowledge of the present and understanding of the past. This general rule is applicable to all creative work, art included. Indeed, all great writers have an ability to comprehend the character of their heroes and to truthfully depict, on this basis, their reaction to different situations. And as we, the readers, begin to under-

stand the logic behind the actions of a character, we begin to have a fairly clear idea of how, say, Julien Sorel, Martin Eden or Grigori Melekhov [1] can or cannot act in a certain situation.

It is impossible to foresee what society may be in the future without understanding present-day society. And there exists only one scientific theory that enables us to understand contemporary society in all its complexity and diversity. It is Marxism-Leninism. Its three greatest discoveries form the basis of a truly scientific philosophy of history, of an effective revolutionary programme for remaking society, and of correct forecasting.

First, according to Marxism-Leninism, society's progressive development, which finds expression in change of socio-economic formations, is of a law-governed nature.

Secondly, the motive force of the historical process is the development of the productive forces, which gives rise to the need for new relations of production; the economic basis of society determines its social structure as a whole and its politico-ideological superstructure.

Thirdly, the motive force of social development is class struggle, which under capitalism necessarily leads to a socialist revolution with the working class at the head.

The main function of most sciences is ultimately that of foreseeing. More than that, a theory becomes scientific only when the hypothesis expressed by it is proven in practice. In other words, proof of a science's ability to foresee is a certificate of its scientific character. It was in this way that chemistry became separated from alchemistry, astronomy

[1] The main character of Mikhail Sholokhov's novel *And Quiet Flows the Don.*

from astrology and medicine from quackery. In the same way social science became separated from pre-science—an aggregate of social and political doctrines which contained elements of truth but failed to give a full and systematized picture of society and the laws of its development.

Such a picture was first drawn in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. The central idea of this work is that socialism is not merely a theory prompted by common sense, not merely an ideal and an expression of the will of the most advanced social class and of all working people, but a natural result of the historical process which is determined by the objective laws of social development.

From the multitude of factors influencing the course of history in which, as in a maze, philosophical and political thought had been floundering for centuries, Marx and Engels singled out that which was essential—the dialectics of interaction of the relations of production and the productive forces. At a certain stage of development of the productive forces the dominant property relations came to fetter them, and have to be changed. However, this does not come about automatically, but only in the course and as a result of class struggle, of the revolutionary overthrow of the old and the establishment of a new economic and political system.

In *Capital* and the other fundamental works the founders of Marxism-Leninism showed that solution of the main contradiction of capitalism—that between the social character of production and the private character of appropriation—can lead only to the victory of socialist production and socialist social relations.

"The whole theory of Marx," Lenin wrote, "is the application of the theory of development—in its most consistent, complete, considered and pithy

form–to modern capitalism. Naturally, Marx was faced with the problem of applying this theory both to the *forthcoming* collapse of capitalism and to the *future* development of *future* communism.

"On the basis of what *facts*, then, can the question of the future development of future communism be dealt with?

"On the basis of the fact that it *has its origin* in capitalism, that it develops historically from capitalism, that it is the result of the action of a social force to which capitalism *gave birth*. There is no trace of an attempt on Marx's part to make up a utopia, to indulge in idle guesswork about what cannot be known. Marx treated the question of communism in the same way as a naturalist would treat the question of the development of, say, a new biological variety, once he knew that it had originated in such and such a way and was changing in such and such a definite direction." [1]

Thus, socialism was not invented and then imposed upon reality. The Marxist-Leninist science *discovered* it in capitalism and showed that the new mode of production and exchange was knocking on all doors of contemporary society, [2] that it was not a matter of choice, but the most likely prospect of mankind's development, its destiny. [3]

[1] Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 457-58.

[2] As Lenin put it, "...socialism is now gazing at us from all the windows of modern capitalism" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 363).

[3] The question may arise as to whether the word "destiny" is applicable to a scientifically foreseen future. We think it is. It is devoid of that connotation of fatal predetermination which is found in the concept "fate". On the other hand, it expresses the inevitability of the coming of the future rooted in the material and spiritual conditions of life of contemporary society, without at the same time ruling out diversity of forms of manifestation of the predominant social pattern of our epoch.

This conclusion indicated a cardinal change in people's views concerning the present and the future, a giant stride forward in man's comprehension of the heretofore hidden springs of the historical process. It opened up before the working-class movement a clear perspective based on the knowledge that a society of social justice was to be built, not on any imaginary island of Utopia, but on this earth inhabited for centuries by oppressed, rightless working people; that it would emerge, not as a result of a favourable concurrence of circumstances, but owing to the operation of the objective laws of history; and that it would not be a gift from on high, but had to be fought for.

From the time when Marxism emerged as an independent ideological and theoretical doctrine and a political movement it has been violently attacked by bourgeois ideologists. In the beginning it was a fairly easy occupation: they "banned" the word and anathematized the idea. It became much more difficult to criticize Marxism when it had gripped the minds of the mass of the people, and especially after the idea had been transformed into deed, after the working class, the people of Russia led by the party of Communists and the great Lenin, had undertaken to carry revolutionary theory into practice and had erected, step by step, according to the Marxist theory, the edifice of socialism.

Powerful intellectual forces were then mobilized by capitalism to prove the non-realizability of what was in fact already being successfully realized. Their argument, the first that came to hand, was that the Russian revolution, which had triumphed in the struggle against the counter-revolution and foreign intervention, would nevertheless collapse because of economic dislocation and hunger, being allegedly unable to normalize the life of society.

When this prediction failed to come true, it was replaced with a new one, sufficiently comforting to the ruling classes in the West. The Soviet Union, it was said, was an exception, a vagary of history made possible by a unique concurrence of circumstances and by the "specific nature of the Russian soul", and therefore its path was historically unpromising.

After the Second World War and the emergence of a large group of socialist states a new explanation for the success of Marxism had to be found. It was that Soviet Russia tried to implant, wherever it could, a social system forged in its own image. The emergence of new socialist states, then, was not a law-governed process, but merely a new version of "political messianism", and since such messianism, as history had shown on many occasions, inevitably developed into expansionism, it would disappear sooner or later. All empires perished, and so would the socialist one, thus argued the enemies of Marxism.

That explanation, however, did not remain satisfactory for very long either. It was demolished by abundant evidence that socialist revolution everywhere grows out of class struggle, and that the forms of building a new society differ substantially under the impact of specific national features. The consolidation of the new social system, and its successes in various fields, the taking of the socialist road by Vietnam, and later, by Cuba in circumstances unconnected with any world war, shattered the myth about Soviet messianism.

Even the bitterest opponents of Marxism-Leninism began to realize, to their alarm, that the "prophecies" about the inevitable victory of socialism were coming true. Alarm turned into panic as more and more former colonies and dependencies declared

their intention to take the road of non-capitalist development or socialist orientation.

Bourgeois sociologists then produced yet another theory, according to which socialism is suitable only for underdeveloped countries as it enables them, within a historically short space of time, though at the cost of tremendous efforts, to overcome economic backwardness and "stand on one's own feet". This theory is perhaps the last major hurdle bourgeois sociologists could place in the way of Marxism-Leninism, a kind of ideological and political "Maginot line". That is why bourgeois sociology holds on desperately to it as to the last trench. That is why it is fortifying this theory feverishly with the help of conceptions about the "deproletarianization" of the working class in the developed capitalist countries, its loss of revolutionary consciousness, about "people's capitalism" which makes socialist revolution an "anachronism", etc.

From time to time, besides waging stubborn defensive battles, the ideological opponents of Marxism mount counter-attacks and even attempt counter-offensives. They do so under different banners, but all their sallies have one feature in common: the enemies of Marxism always carefully ignore facts which they cannot bend to serve their purpose, and prefer to operate with abstractions of formal logic.

Take, for instance, the thesis that "Marxism has become dated"—that a theory founded in the 19th century cannot explain social phenomena of the 20th century. It just cannot, and that's all. It brings to mind the episode from Brecht's play where Galileo invites his opponents to peer through the telescope so that they can see that Jupiter has satellites, but they refuse to do so: why should they if it is

already known that Jupiter has no satellites? Aristotle himself established that!

And there is an even more astounding thesis. Marxism, it is said, is "unscientific", because it is an ideology. Karl Popper, the founder of so-called critical rationalism, whom Right-wing Social-Democrats have proclaimed their spiritual father, has declared that there is no such thing as the dialectical method or historical materialism.

"The belief in historical destiny is sheer superstition," he writes, "and... there can be no prediction of the course of human history by scientific or any other rational methods..." [1] And the British writer Bryan Magee announces that thanks to Popper Marxism's principal claims, and especially the claim to being scientific, have been demolished, with no chance of recovery. [2]

Such allegations could be easily disregarded if Popper's followers, and also representatives of other trends of bourgeois philosophy and sociology, did not create a distorted image of Marxism-Leninism, misinterpreting various aspects of it. The denunciation of Marxism-Leninism as "unscientific" is based on such misinterpretation, namely, on the assertion that this doctrine denies the necessity of verification of its conclusions and foists a hypothetical, idyllic scheme upon reality.

It is not fair, to say the least, to ascribe all this to a theory which sees the ultimate test of its assumptions in actuality. Anyone more or less familiar with the history of Marxism-Leninism knows that each of its conclusions has been tested over and over in the practice of class struggle waged by

[1] Karl R. Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969, p.iv.

[2] See B. Magee, *Modern British Philosophy*, London, 1971, p. 84.

the proletariat, corrected when necessary, and revoked when not corroborated by practice. An example of this is the development of the idea of political power of the working class, which has been re-examined and deepened at every major stage of the revolutionary struggle—in 1871, 1905, 1917, and 1945—and which will certainly be enriched with new theoretical content as the revolutionary process develops further.

Equally absurd are the attempts to impute to Marxism-Leninism the view that the historical process is predetermined by some kind of "fate". Such notions, which were refuted by Engels in his *Anti-Dühring*, contradict the very nature of socialism and communism which are to be built by politically conscious and creative working masses led by their political vanguard. There is no more fatalism in the statement that the victory of the new social system is inevitable than in the statement that planets of the solar system will be settled by man. This prediction is based on what has already been achieved in space exploration, the present-day state of physics, astronomy and medicine, and foreseeable technical progress.

"It would be ridiculous," Lenin wrote, "to attempt to forecast the exact forms and dates of the future steps of the revolution," [1] but "we can, after studying the actual situation and the relations between classes, foresee the inevitable trend of their historic activities, the main forms of their movement." [2] Such is the basis for the forecasting, the possibility of which is denied by Popper and other opponents of Marxism-Leninism.

Had these people been consistent at least in their

[1] Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 10, p. 274.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 507.

errors they would have tried to "verify" their thesis that Marxism-Leninism is "unscientific". But they steer clear of this task, because there is no evidence for this, while there is plenty of evidence to the contrary.

Of course, Marxism-Leninism is not only a science. It is the world view, the ideology of the working class. Here it should be pointed out that it is a science accepted as an ideology, and not vice versa. The aims and the ideals of the revolutionary movement and the objective laws of social development are fused in it, not by a stroke of the pen, but by the will of history.

All this does not mean, naturally, that Marxists are insured against mistakes. In this respect Marxism-Leninism is in no way different from any other science. No one will reproach, say, chemists of the past who developed the phlogiston theory; it was an error due to insufficient knowledge and inadequate methodology and technology of scientific research. Setbacks of this kind may also occur in the various branches of social science.

The wonder is not that some predictions of the founders of scientific communism have not come true or have been only partially fulfilled. The wonder is how accurate are many of their predictions. There is no other theory in social science which could even remotely be compared to Marxism-Leninism in this respect. And this is the best proof of its scientific character. [1]

[1] In the opinion of Academician V. M. Glushkov, a Soviet specialist in cybernetics, it would be wrong to assert that the "laws discovered by historical materialism can be expressed in a simple mathematical formula, and that by introducing scientific and technical terms into one part of this formula we can obtain in its other part a corresponding socio-economic formation. But the general law determining

One can come across in recent Western sociological works a recognition of the correctness of forecasting on a Marxist basis. But the reservation is usually made that forecasting on a Marxist basis is valid only in macroanalyses, in a general assessment of the prospects of social development, but that problems of microanalysis or of practical forecasting cannot be solved with its help. Here, it is claimed, one must use the method of futurology.

That is not true. To begin with, in Marxist-Leninist theory there are different levels of generalization, including a special methodology for the study of phenomena at the microlevel. Here, incidentally, it is quite possible to make use of concrete achievements of futurology. But even in this case the accuracy of forecasting is due to the fact that it proceeds from the fundamental theoretical principles of the science of society.

The history of Marxism knows many instances where not only general, but also quite concrete predictions had come true. In 1870 Engels predicted the defeat of the French army by the Prussians and its encirclement at Sedan. In 1894-95 he accurately forecast the course of the Japanese-Chinese war, and in 1887, the inevitability of a world war. This is what he wrote: "No war is any longer possible for Prussia-Germany except a world war and a world war indeed of an extent and violence hitherto undreamt of. Eight to ten millions of soldiers will

the dependence of social progress on progress in material production operates as inevitably as the fundamental laws of nature... There is no doubt that the qualitative leap in technology and production resulting from the current scientific and technological revolution will lead, in the long run, not to some machine society, but to the complete triumph of peace and socialism." Quoted in: G. Maksimovich, *Talks with Academician V. Glushkov*, Moscow, 1976, p. 183 (in Russian).

massacre one another and in doing so devour the whole of Europe until they have stripped it barer than any swarm of locusts has ever done. The devastations of the Thirty Years' War compressed into three or four years, and spread over the whole Continent; famine, pestilence, general demoralization both of the armies and of the mass of the people produced by acute distress; hopeless confusion of our artificial machinery in trade, industry and credit, ending in general bankruptcy; collapse of the old states and their traditional state wisdom to such an extent that crowns will roll by dozens on the pavement and there will be nobody to pick them up; absolute impossibility of foreseeing how it will all end and who will come out of the struggle as victor; only one result is absolutely certain: general exhaustion and the establishment of the conditions for the ultimate victory of the working class." [1]

In 1918 Lenin commented on this prophesy: "Some of Engels's predictions have turned out differently; and one could not expect the world and capitalism to have remained unchanged during thirty years of frenzied imperialist development. But what is most astonishing is that so many of Engels's predictions are turning out 'to the letter'. For Engels gave a perfectly exact class analysis, and classes and the relations between them have remained unchanged." [2]

Here is another example. In 1877 Engels wrote: "Russia is a country which I think will play the most important role in the nearest future... There are all the elements of a Russian 1789, to be unavoidably followed by a 1793." [3] That Engels

[1] Quoted in Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, pp. 494-95.
[2] Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 495.
[3] Marx and Engels, *Works*, Vol. 19, pp. 123-124 (in Russian).

meant not a mere copy of the French bourgeois revolution is clear from the following words spoken by him in 1881: "An event will take place in far-away St. Petersburg which ultimately will be bound to lead, probably after a protracted and fierce struggle, to the establishment of a Russian Commune." [1] Finally, in 1893 Engels predicted: "Russia is the France of this century. To it legitimately and rightfully belongs the revolutionary initiative of a new refashioning of society." [2]

Many more examples could be cited showing the accuracy of forecasting based on the Marxist theory. This became particularly clear after October 1917, when the work to carry out the theory of the revolutionary refashioning of society got under way. "...We now have," Lenin wrote, "an opportunity which rarely occurs in history of ascertaining the period necessary for bringing about radical social changes; we now see clearly *what* can be done in five years, and what requires much more time." [3]

This unique opportunity for combining analytical and transformative activity, forecasting and planning, led to a whole historical period of conscious and planned construction of the future that has become the present for our contemporaries. And although there have been failures and mistakes in carrying out this work, the overall result is outstanding–a developed socialist society has been built. And the work continues.

With the existence of the world socialist system, the upsurge of the communist movement and the spread of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the forecasting capacity of this teaching is further enhanced

[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. 19, p. 252.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. 21, p. 490.
[3] Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 483.

owing to the creative activity of incomparably broader social forces. A notable contribution is being made to this by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with its analysis of the world situation and ascertainment of the perspective of the development of events. The materials of the 25th CPSU Congress and the recent congresses of other fraternal parties and of international forums of Communists testify to the viability of the theory of scientific communism and the correctness of forecasting based on it.

THE SYSTEMS APPROACH AND THE CONCEPTUAL APPROACH TO FORECASTING

The history of cognition of nature and society by man has a sufficiently clearly expressed cyclic character, which confirms the dialectical law of the transformation of quantity into quality. Every new step forward in gaining knowledge is the result of the synthesis, the generalization of the knowledge already accumulated by different sciences. These steps, taken by men of genius, are followed by the ordinary, prosaic, not so spectacular work of collecting information, of "enriching the soil" for experiments, without which further progress is impossible.

In military terms this process can be likened to the storming of a building. After gaining access to a floor the attackers occupy all of its premises. They spread about, inspecting its every nook and cranny. In the meantime, the advanced detachment is already storming the next floor.

Synthesis must be preceded by a constant in-depth investigation of details, by specialization. But specialization necessarily involves separation of a part from the whole, and hence violence with respect to

the essence of the object of study. The greater this specialization, the greater the need for a fusion of knowledge, for treating the objects and phenomena of nature and society as an organic whole.

Modern medicine can serve as an example. Its successes in the study of separate parts and functions of the organism are indisputable. At the same time, no one feels more strongly than the medical man the need to change the state of things when different branches of medicine monopolize, as it were, different parts of the human organism and study, and even try to treat them, in separation from others. An average modern neuropathologist, who is in charge, so to speak, of the brain and the nervous system, does not always have the time to inquire how things are with his neighbour the cardiologist, whose domain is the heart. The latter, in turn, has no time and perhaps also no desire to look into the functioning of the stomach, which is the realm of the gastroenterologist.

Something like this happens with the social organism, which has been taken to pieces by economists and jurists, philosophers and historians, sociologists and psychologists and representatives of many other sciences, who co-operate in some way or other but strive to keep hold of their specific sphere. Not infrequently specialization reaches such an extent that contacts between neighbours become rare, and this makes it impossible to see clearly, let alone thoroughly investigate, the multiform complex connections which are equally important component parts of the soul of phenomena as their structure, forms, and functions.

In his foreword to *The Brothers Karamazov* Dostoyevsky said that today "everyone is seeking to unite the particulars and find at least some common sense in the universal muddle." Albert Einstein said

much the same thing as regards science, namely, that scientists always strive to find the simplest possible system of thought which would make it possible to bring together all observed facts. [1] This need for generalization, which has always existed, has acquired special urgency at the present stage of the scientific and technological revolution, when the volume of information doubles every eight to ten years. Social sciences in the West, it seems, have found an answer to this need in the so-called systems theory.

A description of the "systems" approach to the world and world order is contained in *A Strategy for the Future* by the American researcher Erwin Laszlo, one of the active exponents of this theory. It consists in the following. In order to view the world as a whole and thus be able to foresee more or less accurately the prospects of its development, it is necessary to approach it as a system. With respect to the question of dealing with the future, account should be taken of the interaction of such factors as the natural environment, the scientific and technological revolution, social changes, ideological struggle, social psychology, etc. [2]

On the surface this method appears attractive and promising. However, an examination of Laszlo's further reasoning shows that his is a systematic rather than a systems approach, for what he recommends is a successive consideration of factors influencing the formation of the future. These factors are examined not all at once, but one after another.

What happens is that, as the author proceeds to the study of the operation of, let us say, the third

[1] See A. Einstein, *The World as I See It*, New York, 1934, p. 138.

[2] See E. Laszlo, *A Strategy for the Future*, New York, 1974.

or the fifth factor, he begins to forget about the characteristics of the first. The more deeply he goes into details, the less there remains of the stereoscopy of vision that constitutes the essence of systems analysis.

The objection may be raised that it is impossible to keep in view simultaneously the entire wealth of interconnections in the world around us. But there is actually no need to do so. There exists a reliable, tested method of scientific search which requires that a general theory or conception, adopted at least as a hypothesis, be worked out, which would elicit the principle of the interconnection of the component parts of the object of investigation and establish their hierarchy.

It would be wrong to think that Western political scientists see no need for such a conception. Laszlo, for example, declares that the social sciences need their own "paradigm" [1] but that unfortunately they are in a "pre-paradigmatic" state. According to him the level of social-science research today is comparable to that of biology a century or half a century ago.

That is a disheartening comparison. Laszlo, however, thinks that the state of things is not so bad after all, because the sought-for paradigm can be replaced by the "general systems theory". According to this theory, all phenomena of the animate and inanimate worlds represent, in the final count, similar types of organization in which all qualitative characteristics can be expressed in quantitative indices. Thus it is possible, at least theoretically, to

[1] A pet word of Western political scientists used as a synonym for some "super-idea" which is none other than a general conception which is to serve as the basis for forming a more or less faithful image of the world and for foreseeing ways of its development.

elaborate formulas in which one only has to replace symbols with data and then wait for the computer to produce a ready-made solution.

It is impossible to deny the existence of similar elements in different systems, including those that belong to different environments, such as inorganic and organic nature or society. Incidentally, this enabled Marx and Engels to examine the world in its integrity and unity and impart a universal character to materialist dialectics.

The use of mathematical methods in social sciences, and in forecasting in particular, has become fairly widespread of late. Attempts have been made to create formalized models based on a description of various social processes (international relations included), their quantification (i.e. quantitative measurement) and inclusion in subsequent analytical procedures with the use of such methods of forecasting as extrapolation and imitation, scenario methods, etc.

Marx said that "a science is not really developed until it has learned to make use of mathematics." [1] While recognizing the importance of mathematics and trusting that with the help of cybernetic and mathematical methods forecasting will reach unprecedented heights in the nearest future, it should nevertheless be pointed out that one should not try to cramp everything into formulas; there must be room left for imagination, intuition, for what is called divination but in reality is nothing but the result of experience.

Oscar Wilde called experience "the name every one gives to their mistakes". To this one might add: and to other people's mistakes.

[1] *Marx and Engels Through the Eyes of Their Contemporaries*, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1972, p. 27.

In much of their writings the advocates of the use of mathematical methods for constructing models of the future lose sight of an element which plays a considerable role in the process of thinking: the element of divination, of having a brain wave, of inspiration. For all the sceptical attitude towards such things, one has to reckon with the nature-determined character of thinking. And one should not forget that politics is not only a science, but also an art.

With or without mathematics, history knows a great many highly accurate predictions and also many inexplicably wrong ones. In Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, published in 1726, it was predicted that there existed two satellites of Mars with periods of revolution of 10 hours and 21 and a half hours respectively. A century and a half later, in 1877, such satellites were discovered, but their periods of revolution were found to be 7.6 hours and 30.4 hours. Many of the predictions of H. G. Wells, Jules Verne, Konstantin Tsiolkovsky and others also came true.

The list of failures is also extensive. In 1902 *Harper's Weekly* said that there would be no need to build motor roads in the nearest future. Edison's company offered Henry Ford a job on the condition that he gave up his gasoline engine and occupied himself with something really worthwhile. R. A. Millikan, a noted physicist, declared in 1930 that there existed no energy with the help of which man could split the atom.

But on the whole, there seems to have been more successful forecasts in the technical sphere than failures. It is different with the social sphere. As noted earlier, bourgeois prognostications regarding the prospects of the revolutionary process are a succession of failures. The reason is obvious: despite

the use of mathematics and all kinds of formalized models, especially in the past decade, futurological research has been inspired by the interests of Big Business. Pursuing the orders of Big Business, most futurologists ask, "What can I do for you?" instead of "What will happen?"

Thus, for all the practical usefulness of the systems theory and the mathematical methods of forecasting connected with it, one cannot see in them a conception or paradigm or, in plainer language, a scientific hypothesis round which one can construct a picture of the world and with the help of which one can explain the sum total of known facts and observations.

This is not to say that the futurologists and Western scientists generally do not think conceptually. They do, whether consciously or not. Their conceptions spring from their class orientation, which obliges them to assume the continued existence of capitalism in all their forecasts (universal and particular, social and technical, made at national, regional or world levels).

In 1972 Herman Kahn and B. Bruce-Briggs published the book *Things to Come. Thinking About the Seventies and Eighties.* It is an experiment in medium-term forecasting which supplements the well-known work by Kahn and his associate Anthony Wiener, *The Year 2000* (1967). One can find many interesting conclusions and observations in the new work of the pundits of futurology. Characteristically, however, the authors almost completely ignore the very concepts of "capitalism" and "socialism", the relationships between the two systems, and their growth prospects. In their analysis of the future they admit of not a shadow of doubt about the stability of capitalism. Their imagination, which leads them to picture momentous changes that will

be brought about by the scientific and technological revolution, the accumulation of scientific and technical knowledge, industrialization and modernization, etc., wanes when it comes to possible social changes.

Indeed, such an approach is characteristic not only of general forecasts, but also of concrete ones, such as the forecasts of the development of Japan and the United States drawn up by institutes and agencies on the instructions of the respective governments. Both contain a serious examination of a wide range of problems and are based on statistical material. There can be no doubt that most of the conclusions reached by the authors are sound. These concern, for instance, transport in the United States ten years from now, and the volume capital investments will reach in Japan by then. But both reports ignore any possible social changes; in other words, they proceed from a simple projection into the future of the entire system of capitalist relations as they exist at present.

But while deliberately ignoring the factor of social change the futurologists, consciously or otherwise, base their picture of the future on their class prejudices. This is clearly seen in the latest forecast of social trends for the next 200 years prepared by the research staff of the Hudson Institute headed by Herman Kahn. The conclusions reached may be stated as follows: the world will become more mechanical and academic; people will rely less on intuition and more on experience; religion, with the exception of mysticism, will disappear, while culture will be more oriented towards man's practical needs; life will become more impersonal and people less communicable; and there will be upheavals accompanied by violence and a threat to political liberties; growth of authoritarianism, greater interference of

government in the life of citizens, more cases of espionage with the use of computers, etc.

But no changes in the basic principles of the capitalist system are anticipated. Thus, it is stated in the forecast that in the next 200 years there will be an increase in unemployment among unskilled and semi-skilled workers. The average annual per capita income in the rich states of North America, Europe, Japan, Australia and Asia will come to 400,000 dollars (at the current rate). In China, Korea and Vietnam it will reach approximately 25,000 dollars; and in countries where it does not exceed 400 dollars today it may rise to 30,000 dollars. For the 26 countries now listed by the International Monetary Fund as not meeting their obligations, it will probably reach 9,500 dollars. In a word, the Hudson Institute futurologists predict for two centuries ahead the same economic gap which is regarded today as a consequence of the exploitative nature of capitalism and constitutes one of the most acute problems facing mankind.

In publicizing the systems theory, some bourgeois sociologists trace it back to the works of Auguste Comte and counterpose it to Marxism. Here they are wrong, if systems analysis is to be understood in a broad sense. An integral picture of phenomena in the world in their unity and interconnection was first given in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and the systems approach itself derives from the principles of materialist dialectics.

At the same time, it would be incorrect to identify the methodology of Marxist-Leninist theory with systems analysis, for the former is incomparably richer in content, and its quintessence is a conceptual approach to reality.

It may be said that systems analysis stands in the same relation to materialist dialectics as a particular

theory to general theory. The methodological function of systems analysis is usually confined to problems of separate processes and practical tasks. The dialectical method, on the other hand, uncovers universal laws of the process of development. This difference between the systems approach and dialectics, however, gives no grounds for counterposing the former to the latter.

THE DECISIVE IMPORTANCE OF THE FACTOR OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Viewing the world as a system, Marxism-Leninism establishes a clearly-defined hierarchy of social and other values and advances the idea that being determines consciousness and the idea that class struggle is the motive force of social development. This makes possible an integral conception on the basis of which the present and the future can be investigated, and according to which the present epoch is one of revolutionary transformation of capitalism into socialism.

In other words, from among the factors influencing the course of social development, Marxism-Leninism unreservedly assigns first place to the social factor. The main tasks of forecasting are formulated accordingly: a) definition of the present stage or point of the world revolutionary process, taking into account the totality of factors conducive to the replacement on a world scale of the old social relations by new ones; b) determination of the prospects of world socialism; c) assessment of the resources of capitalism, and analysis of the crisis phenomena affecting it; d) appraisal of the overall correlation of forces in the world and the tendencies (rates) of its change.

Of course, there may be need for forecasting in particular fields. As said earlier, problems of war and peace, energy resources, the demographic explosion and food supply, environmental protection, and the closing of the economic gap between the developed and developing countries require our closest attention. And there are other problems which are perhaps not so acute today but which deserve study and which may acquire primary importance in the future.

Understandably, the specific features of a problem or phenomenon which is the object of forecasting determine the methods of forecasting. Thus, for example, the methods used in forecasting, say, economic development are not necessarily suitable for forecasting technical progress or population growth. But in all cases the social factor must be considered the decisive factor. Any other approach is likely to lead to error.

On the surface it seems that this is putting the case too strongly. Indeed, are not the questions of war and peace more important than possible social changes? And does not common sense tell us that if in the next two or three decades the arms race is not stopped and no effective disarmament measures are taken, if the stockpiling and proliferation of nuclear weapons and the development of new, even more terrible means of destruction continues, we cannot exclude the possibility of a worldwide catastrophe after which all talk of social progress and of the development of different social systems will become meaningless?

That is so. But should such an event take place it would obviate all need for forecasting. Tragedy can also be caused by a natural catastrophe, which, as Engels said, is inevitable at a certain stage of the existence of the Earth and the solar system–if, that

is, mankind fails to get ready in some way for this natural "doomsday".

Thus, there are things that are beyond the scope of forecasting. But this should not stop us from carrying out forecasting-related research; we must not allow it to doom mankind to passive expectation of the end of the world. On the contrary, the threat of a global catastrophe makes it imperative to mobilize all possible defensive resources. Take, for instance, the important conclusion of the Communist and Workers' parties on the possibility of preventing a new world war. It was based precisely on an analysis of the factor of social change, on a consideration of the growing forces of peace.

What has been said is applicable to other problems mentioned above, such as the problems of energy and food supply. It is common knowledge that highly pessimistic conclusions are made in the West after a study of available resources and the possible means of, and limits to, increasing such resources, and of the demographic explosion. It is said, for instance, that an extreme aggravation of such problems will increase the threat of a world thermonuclear war and thus lead to a catastrophe which will render all forecasting unnecessary. It is also pointed out, and correctly, that the continuous widening of the economic gap between the developed and developing countries (which is largely a result of imperialism's policy of colonialism and neo-colonialism) will lead to the breakup of the system of international relations, after which there will be no way of preventing a world conflagration.

But what is of decisive importance here is not the problems themselves, but the way in which mankind or its separate segments react to them. And such reaction depends on the kind of social system dominating the world or a part of it, and on the approach

taken to these problems. This, above all, is what will determine the prospects of ensuring energy and food supply, closing the economic gap, etc.

Thus, while taking full account of the effect of this or that problem on social development, Marxist-Leninist theory assumes that social development is of decisive importance for understanding the present and foreseeing the future.

This holds good also for such a highly important question as the scientific and technological revolution.

In our time, when scientific and technological progress vastly influences the production structure and indirectly the entire tenor of life of society, the scientific and technological revolution is rightfully spoken of as a force shaping the present and the future.

Hence the exceptional importance which Marxism-Leninism attaches to the study of the development of the scientific and technological revolution, of the connection between it and the social revolution. Hence, also, the need to take full account of scientific and technological progress in planning and forecasting.

However, the universal character of advances in science and technology and the similar uses to which they are put in many countries, irrespective of their social system, have given rise to the mistaken belief that the scientific and technological revolution will make it possible to overcome the class antagonisms of capitalism and establish a "paradise on earth" without a socialist revolution. This supposition admirably meets the ideological requirements of the bourgeoisie, which, aided by the scientific and propaganda apparatus which it controls, tries to present it as an obvious and incontrovertible truth. It is the temptation to make the scientific and technolo-

gical revolution appear more important than the social revolution and thus to lessen the acuteness of the class struggle, to provide capitalism with some prospects of development, that has led to the theories of "post-industrial society", "technotronic era", etc.

The future pictured by futurologists is almost entirely "formed" on the thesis that the scientific and technological revolution is devoid of all socio-political significance and that it has "primacy" over the social revolution. The argument of most futurologists is approximately as follows: It was none other than Marx himself who first showed that development of the productive forces leads to a change in relations of production, and not vice versa; consequently, if Marxists disagree with the idea of the primacy of the scientific and technological revolution, they contradict themselves or have revised their own doctrine for political reasons.

This is either specious reasoning or a failure to understand historical materialism.

To begin with, productive forces and the scientific and technological revolution are not one and the same thing, but that is not the most important point. With some reservations, the process of development of modern productive forces can be identified with the scientific and technological revolution. But this is where one of the most important conclusions of historical materialism comes in: that progress in the development of the productive forces revolutionizes society not directly, but through struggle between classes. It reveals the obsolescence of the existing production relations, their inability to continue to stimulate the development of the productive forces, and brings forward a class which is to become the leading social force in the formation of a new economic basis and a corresponding ideo-

logical-political superstructure. To be sure, technical innovations pave the way for a change of social systems, but it is men, not machines, that perform this task.

It is pertinent to recall here these basic truths in order to put things in their proper places: the scientific and technological revolution and the social revolution are not rivals, as alleged by bourgeois sociologists, but allies. And the current, second technological revolution imperatively calls for the replacement of capitalist production relations with socialist ones.

In other words, bourgeois sociologists are resorting to subterfuge (some are genuinely mistaken): they date the beginning of the scientific and technological revolution from the postwar period, and conclude from this that it calls, not for socialist, but for some other social orders.

A recognition of the decisive role of social changes in the formation of the future makes it necessary for us to define in greater detail the scope and content of the basic concepts related to them.

By "the world revolutionary process" we mean all changes that ultimately lead to the replacement of the capitalist social relations by socialist ones. This includes not only the conscious transformative activity of the progressive forces, but also all objective phenomena conducive to the spread and consolidation of socialism.

Other basic concepts are "world socialism" and "world capitalism". Each denotes not only a group of states, but the entire apparatus of the given system. Thus, under "world socialism" we understand a) the socialist states; b) the socialist-oriented states; c) the communist movement; d) other political forces favouring socialism; and e) the level of

cohesion of the revolutionary forces, their interaction with neutral social strata and other political movements. Here belongs also another important element, one which is very difficult to gauge, namely, the extent to which the working people of the world are influenced by the scientific socialist ideology.

Accordingly, "world capitalism" comprises not only the group of developed imperialist states, but also those developing countries which are fully or largely oriented towards capitalism, the various conservative and reactionary political movements, their interaction, the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie on the masses, etc.

The other group of concepts relates to the world systems of states which, for simplicity's sake, we shall call systems: the world socialist system and the world capitalist system. The world socialist system includes the fifteen states which have embarked upon the road of socialist development under the leadership of Communist and Workers' parties.

The conception of the world capitalist system is less clear-cut. By tradition, in Marxist literature "world capitalist system" and "world capitalism" are synonymous. In this essay they will be so regarded. By the concept "world capitalist system" we do not mean any functional manifestations of the capitalist mode of production, but precisely the aggregate of states in which the capitalist system is predominant. [1]

Finally, there is the concept "socialist community". This is the group of socialist states united in the Warsaw Treaty Organization or the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, or both. No such concept exists as regards the capitalist states, although

[1] There also exists the concept "world capitalist system of economy", which has its own specific features.

the expression "the Atlantic community", is sometimes used, meaning the group of member states of the North-Atlantic Treaty.

HISTORICAL ANALOGY

Probably more researchers will be against the use of historical analogy than for it. But analogy has been, and remains, one of the principal methods in the not-so-rich armoury of prognostication. Therefore, it should be used, provided the necessary reservations are made. [1]

On January 30, 1649, after two civil wars, King Charles I was executed. The sausage-makers and brewers, as the courtiers contemptuously called the bourgeoisie and the new gentry allied with it, gained the upper hand over the monarchy and set about establishing their own, puritanic order. In 1653 the Presbyterians and Independents, acting in their name, dissolved the Long Parliament and vested dictatorial powers in their leader, Oliver Cromwell, so as to crush the movement of the lower classes that had fought under the banners of the revolution and expected from it a substantial improvement of their lot.

The Lord Protector suppressed the struggles of the Levellers and Diggers, put down the rebellious Irish and Scots, successfully fought back feudal Eu-

[1] "The thing that hath been," Ecclesiastes said, "it *is that* which shall be; and that which is done *is* that which shall be done: and *there is* no new *thing* under the sun." Actually nothing in history repeats itself in all details, but the historical process constantly reproduces similar situations, there being a similarity between the main trends of its development. Hence the possibility of analogies.

rope's attempts to restore the monarchy on the British Isles, and in the process of doing so strengthened England's maritime hegemony. The Restoration of the Stuarts and the "Glorious Revolution" that put William of Orange on the English throne did not nullify the results of the English bourgeois revolution, which ushered in a new era in history, the era of capitalism.

It took, however, almost a century and a half before the principles of the new order were systematized and given the form of an ideology. This task was accomplished as a result of the revolutionary war fought by Britain's North American colonies, which issued their Declaration of Independence. Franklin, Jefferson, Adams and other "Founding Fathers" of the United States Constitution were inspired by the ideas of Rousseau, Montesquieu, Helvetius, Holbach, and Diderot–a great constellation of French humanists. Thirteen years later these ideas became the banner of the revolution in their land of origin.

On June 14, 1789, the revolutionary people of Paris stormed the Bastille, the symbol of French absolutism, and on August 26 the Constituent Assembly adopted the Declaration of the Rights of Man. The convocation of the Convention and the proclamation of the republic, the execution of Louis XVI, the fallout between the Girondins and Montagnards leading to the establishment of a revolutionary dictatorship headed by Robespierre, the unsuccessful actions of the *enragés*, Hébertists and Babouvists in behalf of the plebs, the Thermidor *coup d'état*, the Directory, the Consulate and, finally, the 18th Brumaire of Bonaparte–this revolutionary epic lasting ten years shook the whole of Europe. And although the monarchs of the Holy Alliance managed to keep their thrones and have the Bourbons restored in France, the powerful impetus provided

by the French Revolution for the establishment of capitalism could no longer be delayed.

The new system, which appeared with Abbe Sieyes' motto, "Peace to the huts, war to the palaces!" in one hand and the Napoleon Code in another, was hailed by the advanced section of society and jeered by the nobility. Only a few understood at the time that what was happenning was a replacement of one form of exploitation of labour by another. Every true patriot was prepared to give his life for the wellbeing of his country and for an improvement of the lot of the poverty-stricken people, as was done, for instance, by the Russian revolutionaries from among the nobility (Decembrists), who on December 14, 1825, attempted an uprising in St. Petersburg's Senate Square.

The revolution in England and France had a great influence throughout Europe. The same fate that had befallen Charles and Louis was predicted for the German monarch by Heinrich Heine, who wrote, not missing a chance to scoff at the sentimentality of his compatriots:

> They'll put a six-in-hand to the royal coach,
> And array the horses smartly in mourning.
> The coachman will weep as he'll take up his whip.
> That's how the German sovereign will, some day,
> Be brought to the scaffold
> And loyally beheaded.

That forecast proved wrong—not because the German ruling class voluntarily accepted the new social system, but because in this case history did its work in a somewhat different way.

While the cunning Metternich was forging the Holy Alliance and intriguing against the new-born bourgeois republics in an attempt to check the spread of the revolutionary "contagion", an irreversible process of disintegration of feudal struc-

tures was under way within the monarchical states themselves. A part of the ruling class refused to make any concessions and compromises, prepared to drench Europe in blood rather than surrender power. But the more far-sighted members of this class began to understand that theirs was a lost cause and tried to adapt themselves to the changes, to become part of the new system, to salvage at least some of their interests through a union of the effete aristocracy and the burgeoning *nouveaux riches.* They were denounced in the feudal camp as liberals, traitors and turncoats, but it was they who stemmed the revolution's advance for some time.

But it was only for some time. First of all, the revolutionary ideas were spreading from one country to another, and the whole of Europe was becoming an arena of class battles, which reached their peaks in 1830, 1848 and 1870. Secondly, the bourgeoisie everywhere went in for compromises and deals with the estate-owning class in order jointly to suppress the mounting movement of the proletariat and prevent civil wars. And thirdly, the correlation of forces on a world scale was changing increasingly in favour of capitalism.

As a result capitalism was achieved in one country after another ever more easily and quickly. Capitalism was becoming an all-embracing world system.

Thus, the general course of revolutionary events is roughly this: the rupture of one link in the chain, where the contradictions of the old social system are particularly sharp and where an advanced detachment of the revolutionary movement has taken shape for a number of reasons; defence of the bastion of the revolution, with internationalist support; a more or less protracted period of transition to the new system, in one country after another; a grad-

ual change in the correlation of forces on a world scale, followed by an avalanche-like process of establishment of the new system and its becoming the dominant world system.

An analogy is self-evident: a rupture of the capitalist chain in October 1917; a strenuous struggle in defence of the revolution and the laying of the foundations of the new society; a series of revolutions riding the crest of the struggle of the peoples for liberation, against fascism; the formation of a whole group of socialist states in Europe and Asia; the first socialist revolution in Latin America; socialism proclaimed as their goal by a number of former colonies; a constantly changing correlation of forces in the world arena in favour of socialism.

Of course, for all the similarity of features of the development of the revolutionary processes, there is a fundamental distinction between them. The movement from feudalism to capitalism took place within the framework of a kindred socio-political structure; in the main, it was the form of exploitation of labour that changed. The movement from capitalism to socialism is transition to a qualitatively new structure which rules out all exploitation of man by man and of one nation by another nation, and paves the way for the establishment of full social equality and other principles of communism.

This is a fundamental difference in the *content* of the bourgeois and socialist revolutions. The above-mentioned similarity in their forms, or, more precisely, in the succession of stages of their development is explained by the fact that both revolutions are accomplished in conditions of the same type—those of the existence of national states and their interaction within the framework of the world community.

Despite the difference between the situations in,

let us say, 1815 and 1945 a direct comparison suggests itself between the Holy Alliance, established after the Napoleonic wars to block the way of the revolutionary movement, and the North-Atlantic Treaty Organization, set up for a similar purpose after the Second World War. One could cite many more such direct analogies from the history of Europe and the world as a whole. It is different in the case of the development of the revolutionary process in the so-called third world, for in the 19th century that region was virtually cut off from the political events that were shaping the future of the world. By that time the overwhelming majority of the countries of Asia and Africa (and to a lesser extent those of Latin America) had already fallen victim to imperialist enslavement or were in the process of being enslaved. Therefore it would be far-fetched to try to find analogies for the present unique process–both in content and form–in which the national-liberation and socialist revolutions intertwine.

With these reservations made, the analogy mentioned above enables us better to understand mankind's current transition from capitalism to socialism.

But no more than that. A measurement of the parameters of social development on a world scale requires, in the first place, an assessment of the resources and prospects of the two social systems, of their ability to solve the pressing problems that confront the world community at the threshold of the third millennium.

FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM

Every historical process has temporary ebbs, setbacks, deviations from the dominant trend, etc. The

historical process can be likened to the most complex forms of the motion of matter, including the propagation of waves, but least of all to its rectilinear mechanical form.

This circumstance makes it exceedingly difficult to calculate the position of society on the capitalism-to-socialism axis. Moreover, the "zigzags" that occur on some sections of this axis give rise to illusory hopes among those clinging to the past, and cause doubts and disaffection among revolutionaries.

The possibility of erroneous estimates, however, is in inverse proportion to the amount of time over which a revolutionary process has been taking place. The sixty years that have passed since October 1917 make the dominant trend of social development in our epoch as brightly visible as the trace of a high-flying jet plane in a cloudless sky.

Socialism's advance is most clearly seen in the world socialist system's share in the territory and population of the earth and in world industrial and agricultural production.

By early 1977 the territory of the socialist countries was 35.4 million square kilometres and the population, 1,319 million. The CMEA countries had a territory of 25.097 million square kilometres and a population of 378.5 million. The socialist countries' share of world indices was (in per cent):

	All socialist countries			CMEA countries
	1960	1970	1976	1976
Territory	25.9	25.9	26.1	18.5
Population	34	33	33	9.3
National income produced	33	33	33	25
Total industrial output	36	38	40	33

	All socialist countries			CMEA countries
	1960	1970	1976	1976
Production of electricity	21	22	24	21
Oil production	16	17	23	19
Production of natural gas	12	22	30	27
Production of coal (in conventional units)	49	49	51	31
Steel production	31	30	35	29
Production of mineral fertilizers (in terms of 100 per cent contents of nutrients)	24	34	41	34
Production of synthetic resins and plastics	9	10	13 *	12 *
Production of chemical fibre	17	16	18	16
Production of automobiles	4.8	5.6	8.3	7.4
Production of cement	28	28	32	26
Production of cotton fabrics	35	41	46	24
Production of granulated sugar	30	31	27 *	22 *
Production of cereals and legumes	35	38	39	20
Production of wheat	43	48	42	31
Production of cotton fibre	28	35	41	22
Production of flax fibre	78	90	89 *	81

* in 1975

The table can be commented upon from different angles, but the point we want to make here is that the socialist system's share of world indices has been steadily increasing, the increase being mainly due to the intensive factor, i.e., higher rates of economic growth.

For instance, in the 1971-75 years the national in-

come produced rose by 37 per cent in the CMEA countries, as compared to 13 per cent in the EEC countries, 11 per cent in the United States, and 30 per cent in Japan. The average annual rates of its growth (in per cent) were:

	1966-70	1971-75
CMEA countries	7.3	6.4
Bulgaria	8.7	7.9
Hungary	6.8	6.2
GDR	5.3	5.4
Mongolia	4.3	6.7
Poland	6.0	9.8
Romania	7.7	11.3
USSR	7.8	5.7
Czechoslovakia	6.9	5.7
Yugoslavia	5.7	5.8
EEC countries	4.9	2.6
Great Britain	2.3	1.9
France	5.6	3.8
FRG	4.8	1.7
Italy	5.9	2.2
United States	3.0	2.1
Japan	11.6	5.4
Canada	4.8	4.7

The table clearly shows that the development rates of the socialist countries are higher than those of the other countries.[1] True, the average annual rate of increase in the national income produced somewhat decreases in the current five-year period. This is explained, in the main, by the nature of the

[1] An exception is Japan. We shall not go into detail here as to what made possible Japan's high economic growth rates. Most specialists agree that in the future they will decline to the level of the other developed capitalist countries. In any event, Japan's case shows that there is always an exception to a rule, but it in no way refutes the overall conclusion about the higher development rates of the socialist system.

tasks being carried out at the present stage of socialist construction (with emphasis on higher productivity and output quality, elimination of disproportions that have arisen during the decades of accelerated growth, the implementation of an extensive programme of capital investments in the course of industrialization, etc.). And besides, it should be borne in mind that economic growth is not an end in itself. In a planned socialist economy the rate of economic growth is determined by the need to maintain a rational correlation between the resources of society (including available manpower resources) and its requirements (including the need to constantly improve the wellbeing of the people and to raise the standard of the socialist way of life generally).

The constant growth of the share of the socialist system in world economy is clear evidence, but not the only evidence, of the advance of the new social system. An equally important indicator is the level of maturity attained by the system in all areas of social life. Of paramount importance in this respect is that a developed socialist society has been built in the USSR, and the task to build such a society has been placed on the agenda in a group of other countries.

Today developed socialism is only beginning to take shape on a world scale and scientific discussions are being conducted as regards its content, standards and place in history both in relation to the initial stages of socialist development, and to communism. But already now two points concerning this important stage of the historical process are evident. One is internal and the other is international.

Marx and Lenin had repeatedly noted that as soon as socialism began to develop *on its own basis*

both the pace and quality of social progress would increase many times over. Developed socialism, in a broad sense, is such a basis. And we have every reason to expect that its creative potentialities will manifest themselves to the full in the coming years and decades, and this will ensure the advance towards communism.

The other point is related to the socialist system's impact on the world revolutionary process.

From the very start the victorious working class has influenced world development primarily by the force of example. But the extent of this influence is inevitably circumscribed by the degree of the maturity of the new society. Every social system needs a definite historical space of time in which optimal solutions are sought for the management of affairs in all spheres of social life, in which the feasibility of institutions is tested, and new traditions are developed and take root. Socialism is no exception, although, as experience has shown, it "ripens" much faster than the preceding socio-economic formations. One need only recall, for example, what capitalism was like in the middle of the 19th century, sixty years after the French Revolution. There can be no doubt that as socialist society enters into its period of maturity, the utilization of all its possibilities will add considerably to its power of attraction.

A society of developed socialism also conducts a foreign policy of a new type. In recent years the process of economic integration of the CMEA countries has deepened, their co-ordinted foreign policy has scored major successes and bilateral and multilateral co-operation between them in the ideological, scientific and cultural spheres has broadened.

In this connection it is pertinent to recall the thesis set forth in the Central Committee's report to the 25th Congress of the CPSU, according to which

the process of a gradual drawing together of socialist countries now operates as an objective law. In other words, a qualitatively new stage has been reached in the co-operation of the fraternal states, which is marked by a growth of common elements in their policies and in their economy and social life, by a closer co-ordination of actions taken by the ruling Communist parties and the socialist states, and by broader contacts between peoples.

The process of drawing together of nations does not mean standardization of forms of social life. On the contrary, it becomes possible only at the stage of mature socialism, which is characterized by a diversity of forms of socialist society, resulting from the creative work of different peoples. According to Lenin's views on the nationality question, the actual drawing together of nations is possible only when the given nations flourish and voluntarily co-operate with one another on an equal basis.

Developments in China have been contrary to the general trend. The permanent "cultural revolution" within the country, hegemonism in foreign policy, and militarism have seriously deformed the institutions of the new system established by the 1949 revolution and hampered the solution of pressing economic and social problems. The events in China over the past fifteen years testify to the complexity of the revolutionary process.

The Chinese Communists, the working class and all working people of that great country will undoubtedly find a correct way out of the long drawn-out political crisis. At the same time, it is important to stress that, despite the serious harm Peking's policy has done to the revolutionary movement, the "China factor" has not prevented, contrary to the imperialists' hopes, the overall change in the correlation of world forces in favour of peace and social-

ism. Along with the strengthening of the socialist system, the process of extension of the positions of world socialism has continued. A number of states that became independent after the breakup of imperialism's colonial system have proclaimed as their goal the building of a socialist society. In recent years the large group of socialist-oriented countries has been joined by Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia.

There are various conceptions of orientation towards non-capitalist development. Some represent more or less carefully elaborated systems of views, while others are no more than general formulas. The difference between them lies in the extent to which they rely on the ideas of scientific socialism and the practical experience of socialist countries in carrying out these ideas. Still others are eclectic; they contain religious elements, or try to reconcile socialist and capitalist principles. The relationship between avowed socialist aims and actual social policies also differs from one country to another. The proclaimed slogans and programmes are not always implemented consistently.

But all in all, it is a significant fact that ever more peoples and political movements are coming to regard as the only possible way of achieving progress the socialization of the basic means of production, planned development of the national economy, the accomplishment of a cultural revolution, the political education of the mass of the people and their involvement in the building of a new society. Obviously, the various conceptions of socialist orientation and their practical implementation will evolve in step with the growth of the political consciousness of the working classes and of their determination to overcome the fierce resistance of local reaction and

imperialism and carry out more radical social changes.

Revolutionary forces are also gaining strength in the developed capitalist countries, the citadel of the old world. This is seen first of all in the growing influence of the Communist and Workers' parties. In Italy, France, Finland, Japan, India, Portugal and Denmark they have become mass parties exerting a considerable influence on their country's political life and internationally.

The turn to the left among the masses is also exerting an influence on the Social Democratic movement, within which there is a growing recognition that a policy wholly oriented towards class collaboration with the big bourgeoisie and practically not differing from the policy of the conservative parties has no future. Ideologists of Social Democracy cannot but draw their conclusions also from the deep and protracted crisis that has hit all areas of life in capitalist society. Here is just one example. Josef Hindels, a noted theoretician of the Socialist Party of Austria, writes: "Latter-day capitalism has reached its limit and is aware of its doom, for it is unable to solve the problem of the future. It is necessary to abolish this system, instead of trying to revive it once again." [1]

A number of Social Democratic parties have now stated more definitely in their programmes the necessity of socialization of the basic means of production and other socialist transformations. There are real prospects for Socialist-Communist co-operation based on a common governmental programme in a number of countries.

In recent decades capitalist economy has shown a number of features which Lenin described as the material preparation for socialism: greater concen-

[1] *Zukunft*, Vienna, 1975, No. 3, p. 36.

tration of production, a marked growth of the state-run sector, and a more active regulating role of the state (including attempts to plan the development of key sectors of the national economy). Under the pressure of the working-class movement and also thanks to the example of the socialist countries, a labour protection system is beginning to take shape in capitalist countries. All this goes to show that monopoly capital is compelled to adapt itself to the demands of the revolutionary epoch.

At the same time, Lenin's criticism of the reformists, who half a century ago sought to present any new elements within the capitalist system as socialism, remains valid. Until the main question–the question of power–is decided in favour of the working people, private property, the foundation of capitalism, is not only preserved but continues to gain strength, the economic gap between the monopolies and wage labour continues to widen, and the policy of the state remains subordinated to the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Socialism's advance towards new frontiers is evident also in the sphere of international relations. First of all, many of the communist principles which had been sharply attacked in the West after October 1917, have now become accepted norms of international life. These include the principle of self-determination of nations, and the sovereign right of every people to build its own national statehood, to exercise control over the natural riches of its country, and to choose its own social system.

The Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems has been recognized as the only possible norm of international relations during the epoch of revolutionary transition. It is generally acknowledged that this represents an important victory for the forces of peace and

progress and that a special role in this has been played by the Peace Programme adopted at the 24th Congress and further developed at the 25th Congress of the CPSU, by the purposeful, co-ordinated policy of the countries of the socialist community.

The beneficial influence of socialist ideas can be seen in nearly all areas of human activity today, and what is more, the need for further "socialization" of international relations is becoming ever more obvious. Given constructive international cooperation within the framework of peaceful co-existence, a start can already be made now in solving such urgent problems as the prevention of a thermonuclear war; preservation and consolidation of peace; establishment of reliable security systems both on a regional and on a world scale; the overcoming of the economic backwardness of the developing countries; rational use of raw material and energy resources in the interests of all nations; collective exploration and utilization of the ocean and outer space; elimination of hunger, and the combating of diseases.

Another proof of the progress of world socialism is seen in the sphere of ideas.

To be sure, there are still politicians who, like Margaret Thatcher, say that Britain's difficulties are due to too much socialism in that country. Indeed it takes a leader of the conservatives to proclaim that Britain, where capitalist monopolies hold sway, is suffering from too much socialism. There are also those who continue to pin their hopes on a military solution of the historical contest between capitalism and socialism, and who would not be averse to making one more attempt to turn back the clock of history or, if the worst comes to the worst, to making sure that capitalism's departure from the world arena should be accompanied by nuclear fireworks.

However, the main forces upholding bourgeois ideology strive to adapt themselves to the changes that are taking place while preserving the foundations of the bourgeois system. It is noteworthy that in the futurologists' forecasts the society to come is called anything but capitalist. Thus, for example, there is a tendency to speak of pluralism rather than of bourgeois democracy. This is a reflection of the fact that the terms "bourgeois" and "capitalism" are acquiring a negative meaning even in the view of the supporters of the capitalist system. And when an army is afraid to inscribe on its banners the real aim for which it is fighting, it all but admits defeat.

And there is one more point that is worth noting. In criticizing socialism bourgeois ideologists now prefer to oppose to it, not capitalism, but "democratic socialism", which is either a distorted picture of the new or a camouflaged form of the old society. Some bourgeois ideologists try to judge the present state of things in the socialist countries from the standpoint of the principles of the future, communist society and from this position criticize their shortcomings.

The underhandedness of such methods aside, they show that the bourgeoisie has no ideals of its own with the help of which it could weaken the attraction of real socialism. It is therefore compelled to appeal either to a prettified past or to the future, in which there is no place for itself.

In any event, with every turn of the wheel of history, concepts and ideas that please the monopolists' ear are preached with less and less conviction. The belief that capitalism can be saved is waning even among its staunchest supporters. With few exceptions, thinking persons are coming to realize that socialism is the future of all nations–both big and

small, western and eastern, industrially developed and economically weak.

Owing to the growing awareness of this truth more and more attention is centered on the question of different ways to socialism for different countries, and of the possible forms of the economic and political system of socialist society. Revolution or reform, democratic centralism or pluralism, uniformity or multiformity–all these problems have become the subject of intense ideological struggle. The reason for this is that in their attempt to adapt themselves to the trends of the century, to find a place for themselves in the future, different social strata express their interests in doctrines which represent arbitrary interpretations of the principles of socialism. In a certain sense it may be said that problems of a socialist future are becoming the main battleground of ideological struggle between the revolutionary and conservative forces.

The course of social development since October 1917 shows that, despite the complexity of the revolutionary process which involves acute struggles and both successes and setbacks, socialism is steadily gaining strength, becoming more influential and growing more mature.

At every stage in history classes, parties and their ideologists endeavour to comprehend the course of events, and ascertain the point of the revolutionary process reached by separate countries and by the world as a whole. Of outstanding importance in this respect are the analysis of the achievements and prospects of development of the Soviet Union and the world situation made by the 25th CPSU Congress and the documents of the congresses of fraternal parties and international meetings of Communists. They show that mankind's advance towards socialism is irreversible.

Георгий Шахназаров
ВЗГЛЯД В БУДУЩЕЕ
на английском языке
Цена 25 коп.

SOCIALISM: THEORY AND PRACTICE

This is a monthly digest of the political and theoretical press published by the Novosti Press Agency Publishing House in English, French, German and Spanish.

It features the most important problems of socialism—problems of Marxist-Leninist theory, the construction of socialism and communism in the USSR, the Soviet way of life, socialist community's foreign policy, activities of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, the place and role of socialism in today's world development.

If you want to know the opinion of Soviet statesmen and public figures, scientists and publicists on these problems and what articles are published in the Soviet press

READ STP

You can subscribe to STP in all firms and bookshops dealing in Soviet literature. Those who take out a year's subscription to STP will get free a set of six booklets on the problems dealt with by the digest.

- 200 / Бонза
Ru / Зам

